

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM UR US
SUBJECT: SALT II: GROMYKO ON MODERNIZATION AND ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEM

1. DURING SENATOR STEVENSON'S CALL ON GROMYKO (SEPTEL) QUESTIONS RELATED TO SALT-II WERE DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH. THE SENATOR FIRST MENTIONED SALT AS ONE OF THE AREAS IN WHICH FORWARD MOVEMENT WOULD IMPROVE THE ATMOSPHERE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND THUS FACILITE RESOLUTION OF OTHER ISSUES, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE ECONOMIC AND TRADE AREA.

2. GROMYKO IMMEDIATELY PICKED UP THE REFERENCE TO SALT AND OFFERED THE SOVIET VIEW: THAT NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PAST YEAR HAVE ACHIEVED MUCH AND THE QUESTIONS WHICH REMAIN ARE VERY FEW--HE REPEATED WITH EMPHASIS "VERY FEW" HE REFRAINED FROM ESTIMATING THE PRECISE DISTANCE BETWEEN OUR POSITIONS BUT SAID THE SOVIETS "WOULD LIKE TO HOPE THAT WE WILL SUCCEED." THEN, AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE SOVIET FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE, HE CITED THE SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF CRUISE MISSILES WITHIN THE CEILINGS. THIS, HE SAID WAS A MAJOR CONCESSION OF PRINCIPLE SINCE IT WAS THE SOVIET POSITION THAT CRUISE
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MISSILES SHOULD BE ELIMINATED ENTIRELY.

3. SENATOR STEVENSON DESCRIBED THE SITUATION IN THE SENATE AS HE SAW IT, AND SAID THAT HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT THE AGREEMENT WE WOULD REACH ON CRUISE MISSILES AND NUMBERS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SENATE. HE REMARKED THAT A FEW YEARS BACK SOME INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE SENATE

WERE STILL PRESSING FOR A SUPERIORITY OF STRATEGIC ARMS, BUT NOW THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUIVALENCY OR SUFFICIENCY IS WIDELY ACCEPTED. HOWEVER, HE ANTICIPATED TWO MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE SENATE WHEN A SALT-II TREATY COMES UP FOR RATIFICATION. THE FIRST IS THE MODERNIZATION QUESTION AND THE SECOND--WHICH COULD NOT BE STRESSED TO MUCH-- IS THE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION. IN THE LATTER REGARD, THE REPORTS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE DEVELOPING AN ANTI-SATELLITE CAPABILITY ARE PARTICULARLY DISTURBING, SINCE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD UNDERMINE THE CAPACITY FOR NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION. IN THE SENATOR'S VIEW, THIS QUESTION MUST BE RESOLVED IF WE ARE TO HAVE A SALT-II TREATY.

4. GROMYKO ADDRESSED THE VERIFICATION ISSUE FIRST, SAYING THAT THE FIRM SOVIET POSITION IS THAT VERIFICATION MUST BE BY NATIONAL MEANS. THESE MEANS HAVE BEEN PROVED VALID BY OUR EXPERIENCE WITH SALT - I. THE SOVIETS ARE CONVINCED THAT NEITHER SIDE CAN CONCEAL WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS FIELD. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT BOTH SIDES MUST HAVE CLEAN HANDS ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT CARD TRICKS WILL NOT WORK. HOWEVER, EVEN BEFORE WE HAVE REACHED A SALT - II AGREEMENT SOME ARE TRYING TO SOW SEEDS OF DOUBT BY RAISING ARTIFICIAL ISSUES.

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5. CONTINUING ON THE MODERNIZATION QUESTION, GROMYKO STATED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT OPPOSED TO AN AGREEMENT COVERING MODERNIZATION. THEY ARE WILLING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC CRITERIA AND INDICES (POKAZATELI). HE STRESSED THAT HE IS TALKING ABOUT MODERNIZATION AND NOT NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS. THE SOVIET DELEGATION IN GENEVA, HE SAID, HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO NEGOTIATE LANGUAGE COVERING MODERNIZATION. HOWEVER, IF THE OTHER SIDE PROPOSES "ONE, TWO, THREE, FIVE OR TEN" INDICATORS REGARDING EACH BOLT IN A MISSILE LAUNCHER, AND CONSIDERS EVERY CHANGE OF A BOLT AS MODERNIZATION, THEN THIS APPROACH CHANGES THE QUESTION OF MODERNIZATION TO ANOTHER ONE AND CAN ONLY GIVE RISE TO DOUBTS, SINCE IT IS AN ARTIFICIAL ISSUE.

6. THE SENATOR REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT HE WHO WAS RAISING THESE ISSUES. IN REGARD TO VERIFICATION, THE SOVIETS HAD RAISED THE ISSUE BY TESTING AN ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON. THIS DEVELOPMENT CREATES A MAJOR NEW ISSUE REGARDING NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION. WHEN QUESTIONS ARE RAISED REGARDING THE EFFICACY OF NATIONAL MEANS, THE WHOLE SALT PROCESS IS SUBJECT TO DOUBT.

7. GROMYKO ASKED RHETORICALLY SINCE WHEN IS THIS A QUESTION OF SUCH CONCERN? NEITHER SIDE HAS VALID CLAIMS AGAINST THE OTHER IN REGARD TO THE VERIFICATION OF SALT - I. ALL SORTS OF FABLES (NEBYLITSY) OF COURSE ARE BANDIED ABOUT BY THE PRESS. THESE ARE FABLES AND UNTRUTHS AND NOT THE BASIS FOR ASSERTING CLAIMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER IN THE SALT PROCESS. THE SOVIETS SOMETIMES WONDER WHY THE NEUTRON BOMB REMAINS OUTSIDE THE SALT CONTEXT, BUT THEY DO NOT RAISE IT IN SALT, SINCE IF THEY DID SO THERE WOULD BE NO END OF QUESTIONS TO BE DEALT WITH IN SALT.

8. SENATOR STEVENSON REPLIED THAT HE WAS NOT RAISING
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THE MATTER OF AN ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON ON THE BASIS OF PRESS REPORTS, WHICH HE RECOGNIZED COULD BE INACCURATE. NOR COULD IT BE HELD THAT THIS QUESTION IS NOT PART OF SALT SINCE NATIONAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF SALT.

9. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE, BUT OUTSIDE SALT. THEY DO NOT CONCEDE THAT THEY ARE ENGAGED IN THIS ACTIVITY. FABLES AND UNTRUTHS ABOUND IN THE WESTERN PRESS. SOME TIME BACK THERE WERE ACCUSATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS WERE DEVELOPING A LASER WEAPON, BUT THIS WAS DROPPED WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THERE WAS NOTHING TO IT. (KORNIYENKO OBSERVED THAT THE REPORTS STEMMED FROM FIRES ON GAS WELLS IN SIBERIA.) IF PEOPLE ASCRIBE MYTHICAL INTENTIONS TO SOVIETS AND THEN MAKE THIS A CONDITION TO AGREEMENT, THEN THERE CAN BE NO AGREEMENT. THE LEVEL HEADED SHOULD PUT MATTERS IN THEIR PROPER PLACE. THE SOVIETS WANT AN AGREEMENT AND WILL DO ALL THEY CAN TO ACHIEVE ONE BUT THEY ARE NOT PREPARED TO RESPOND TO ARTIFICIAL ISSUES.

10. THE SENATOR SAID THAT HE WAS NOT CHALLENGING WHAT GROMYKO HAS SAID, BUT WISHED TO MAKE SURE THAT HE UNDERSTOOD HIM CORRECTLY. WAS HE SAYING THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT DEVELOPING OR TESTING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPON SYSTEM AND HAD NO INTENTION OF DEVELOPING ONE?

11. GROMYKO REPLIED, "AS I SAID, THIS IS A FABLE (NEBYLITSA)." SOMETIMES, AFTER A HEAVY MEAL, A PERSON CAN HAVE NIGHTMARES. MAYBE THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED TO SOMEONE. EACH SENATOR, GROMYKO ADDED, SHOULD BE GUIDED BY COMMON SENSE AND HIS OWN CONSCIENCE. THE SOVIETS
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WILL FACILITATE A NEW SALT ACCORD, BUT THERE MUST BE
"A CERTAIN EVEN-HANDEDNESS" (RAVNOMERNOST') IF AN AGREEMENT
IS TO BE POSSIBLE.

12. DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SALTDEL GENEVA.
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